COORDINATED COMMUNITY POLICING: THE NEWARK EXPERIENCE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

by

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With the Assistance of Sampson Annan and the Newark Police Department

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This report summarizes the results of a field test conducted by the Newark Police Department and evaluated by the Police Foundation under a grant from the National Institute of Justice. The test, successfully carried out from the fall of 1983 through the summer of 1984, evaluated the effectiveness of a program consisting of diverse coordinated elements designed to reduce the fear of crime by increasing the quantity and quality of contacts between citizens and the police and by reducing social disorder and physical deterioration.

Findings in Brief

The evaluation found that the multi-faceted coordinated program was well-implemented, highly visible and had several statistically significant effects, both at the area level and among a panel of the same persons over time. The results indicate that the program had consistently significant results in both types of analysis on four different outcome measures:

- In both analyses, the program was found to have been associated with significant reductions in perceived social disorder problems; that effect was somewhat stronger in the panel analysis.
- Both analyses indicated that the program was related to significant reductions in worry about property crime; the measures of effect were virtually the same in both cases.
- The program was shown to have been associated with significant reductions in the level of perceived area property crime problems, although the size of the effect was much greater in the panel analysis.
- Both types of analysis showed the program to have been related to significant improvement in evaluations of police services, with both measures of effect in comparable size.

One other effect was significant in only the cross-sectional analyses. Specifically, residents of the program area reported more incidents of personal crime than did those in the comparison area.

The analyses of the panel data revealed four significant effects other than those revealed by both types of analysis:

- Fear of personal victimization declined significantly;
- Satisfaction with the area increased significantly;
- Total victimization increased significantly; and
- Property victimization increased significantly.

In addition, significant reductions were found in recorded Part 1 crimes were found in the program area with respect to (1) total Part 1 crimes, (2) personal crimes (3) auto thefts and (4) crimes which occurred outside. No significant efforts were found in the comparison area.

The Problem

The mandate for the first urban police, in London in 1829, was to be "... in tune with the people, understanding the people, belonging to the people, and drawing its strength from the people" (Critchley, 1967, p.52). To achieve this goal, frequent contact and interaction with citizens were indispensable. Over the years, however, such contacts became less frequent and largely limited to emotionally charged situations in which crimes had occurred. Local police stations were closed in favor of centralized headquarters. Patrol officers were rotated among beats rather than being assigned to one neighborhood over time. Foot patrol was replaced by radio-dispatched motorized patrol.
The cumulative result of these developments was that officers spent much of their time driving from call to call, emerging only to contact crime victims, arrest suspects or give traffic citations—hardly situations in which enduring trust and understanding can develop. Citizens and police often regarded each other warily, almost as strangers. As a result, police officers assigned to an area may have little understanding of the priorities and concerns of people living or working there. This lack of information about neighborhoods can cause officers to be unresponsive to important neighborhood problems and may, in turn, cause citizens to feel that police neither know nor care about them.

Since, as much recent research has shown, effective crime prevention and fear reduction must be primarily a joint effort between citizens and the police (Lavrakas and Herz, 1982; Rosenbaum, 1982; Waller, 1979; Yin, 1979), this reduction in mutual trust has had far-reaching consequences.

Recent research has also repeatedly shown that the fear of crime is more often related to the perceived level of social and physical disorder in a person's neighborhood than to that person's actual experiences as a victim of crime. Social disorder—such as teenagers hanging out on the streets, drug use, and public drinking—as well as physical disorder—abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and littered streets—serve as indicators of impending danger, even if no actual crime has been observed. Other research has shown that there is a dynamic quality to this relationship: neighborhood deterioration is followed by rising crime which is followed by further deterioration. As the deterioration continues, the composition of the neighborhood changes, leading to the development of a subculture tolerant of law violation.

The evidence that deterioration and disorder—the signs of crime—constitute an engine of neighborhood destabilization and decline is compelling. What is not clear, however, is what can be done to dismantle that engine. Given that the sources of the problem are broad and complex, it is unreasonable to think that any solutions which are not equally broad and complex could have much chance of being effective. A number of long-range proposals, from improved zoning, planning and building code enforcement to the provision of social and educational services, have been made to address this cycle of disorder, deterioration, fear and crime. In the short term, however, most suggestions have focused on the police in terms of their roles of enforcing the law and maintaining order. Both Wilson and Kelling (1982), and Kobrin and Schuerman (1982), for example, have suggested that the intensification of law enforcement and order maintenance, especially by foot patrol, in areas with noticeable, but not unredeemable, levels of disorder and deterioration could contribute to reclaiming those areas for their law-abiding residents.

The Newark Coordinated Community Policing Program

In late 1982, the National Institute of Justice issued a request for competitive proposals to test strategies for reducing the fear of crime. The Police Foundation won the competition and was asked to plan and conduct such studies on an accelerated timetable. Two cities were selected in which to conduct the tests—Newark, New Jersey, an old, dense city with a
declining population and a deteriorating revenue base, and Houston, Texas, a new city with low population density, rapid population growth and an expanding economy. In each city a Fear Reduction Task Force was created to consider possible strategies, select those that were most appropriate for the local conditions and plan and implement those strategies over a one-year period.*

Early in its deliberations, the Newark task force recognized the relevance of the research concerning the relationship among police-citizen contact, the "signs of crime," fear, crime and neighborhood decay to the circumstances in their city. In particular, the lack of contact between police and citizens in non-threatening situations seemed to be a likely source of fear.

During the spring and summer of 1983, the Newark Fear Reduction Task Force developed a program, named Coordinated Community Policing, composed of several separate but integrated components. First, a police community station (a "storefront" office) was opened. Second, directed police-citizen contacts (door-to-door visits) were made throughout the area. Third, a police neighborhood newsletter was distributed. Fourth, several activities aimed at intensified enforcement of laws concerning conduct in public places and the maintenance of order were undertaken. Finally, two different approaches designed to reduce physical deterioration were utilized. The actual operations of those programs are described below.

Police Community Service Center. The task force members believed that a local police community service center (a "storefront" office) within an area would provide an important mechanism for reducing the distance between the police and citizens. After visiting such centers in other cities and consulting with scholars and practitioners familiar with their operation, the members located and rented vacant office space (at $325 per month) on the major thoroughfare in the program area.

The center was to provide these services:

- Walk-in reporting of crimes,
- Reporting of less serious crimes by telephone,
- Distribution of crime prevention and Operation I.D. information,
- Referral of problems to other city and community agencies,
- Dissemination of newsletters,
- Recruitment for and holding of meetings of block watch and other community organizations,
- Coordination for door-to-door activities, and
- Provision of space for police officers to meet, fill out reports and consume meals.

The center was officially opened on September 1, 1983, with service hours from 12 noon until 10 p.m., Monday through Saturday. In November, 1983, the center hours were expanded to 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., Mondays through Saturdays. The staffing consisted of one sergeant, two police officers and, when available, members of the auxiliary police, civilians with an interest in providing assistance to the police. Organizationally, the center was a subunit of the district within which it was located. As a result, the sergeant in charge of the center reported to the commander of the West District.

On a typical day, the officers at the storefront office would be visited periodically by residents of the neighborhood who would come with information about local events, questions about police-related matters, or simply to talk. Occasionally, a citizen would report a crime directly to...
the storefront officers instead of calling or going to police headquarters or the precinct station. Children would often stop by just to chat. The storefront sergeant frequently had meetings with officers who had conducted "door-to-door" interviews with residents in the area in order to determine the types of problems being mentioned most often and to develop strategies to deal with them. One or two evenings per week, local groups-ranging from block club organizations to a Boy Scout troop organized by the storefront officers-held meetings on the storefront premises.

Directed Police-Citizen Contacts. To provide a mechanism for creating positive contacts between police officers and citizens, the sergeant in charge of the service center (Kenneth Williams) was given the responsibility of assigning police officers to visit residents in the program area. Such visits, in addition to establishing communications with citizens, were designed to:

- Elicit information about the nature and basis of citizens' fears—and possible means of combating them,
- Provide follow-up assistance, information and referral advice,
- Encourage citizens to become involved in block watch and other neighborhood groups,
- Distribute crime prevention information,
- Distribute the neighborhood police newsletter, and
- Alert residents to the existence of the local Police Community Service Center.

Training for the officers assigned to these duties was provided by Major Philip Huber of the Baltimore County, MD Police Department. The visits were made primarily by the officers normally assigned to the program area, assisted by officers specifically assigned to this job by the precinct commander. The contacts were made between the hours of 10 a.m. and 8 p.m., excluding the usual dinner hour between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m.

At each home, the visiting officers, using an open-ended questionnaire, were to ask one representative of the household the following questions:

- What are the biggest problems in the neighborhood?
- Which are the three most serious problems?
- For each of those three problems, how has it affected the household?
- What are the causes?
- What should be done to solve it?

The answers to each of these questions were written on the questionnaire along with any comments or recommendations the officer(s) might have. The typical interview lasted seven to ten minutes. Citizens were often puzzled at first about why the police had initiated contact with them without a complaint being filed. This confusion and wariness usually dissipated quickly however, with citizens, many of whom offered coffee to the officers and invited them to sit down, frequently seeking to converse at great length.

This form was then submitted to the service center sergeant. After reviewing the forms to discern patterns, the sergeant then conferred with the officers filing the report to determine the most appropriate response. In this capacity, the sergeant became, in effect, the coordinator of the several program components. If the problem identified concerned matters that could be addressed by existing police units, the sergeant would enlist the assistance of those units in order to direct their attention to the specific area in question. If the response required the involvement of the Directed Patrol Task Force, the sergeant would contact the commander of that unit to notify him of the need for specific action. If the problems pertained to concerns that were the responsibility of other city agencies,
the sergeant would notify those agencies—either directly or with the assistance of the Assistant Coordinator of the program. The sergeant was then responsible for attempting to ensure that effective steps were taken to address the problem(s) and that the citizen involved was informed of the action(s) taken.

The initial contacts began on September 1, 1983 and continued throughout the evaluation period until July 1984. For the first two months, the officers were assigned general neighborhoods within the program area in which to concentrate their efforts; specific addresses were not assigned to individual officers. This system did not provide the extent of management control necessary for such a complex undertaking. As a result, starting in November 1983, each household in the program area was listed, given a unique identification number, and entered in a master log. Using this log, the sergeant assigned addresses to individual officers. The status of each assignment was recorded both in the master log and on a detailed map of the area maintained on the wall of the service center.

From September 1983 through June 1984, contacts were made or attempted at 1242 households in the program area. Based on the 1980 census estimate of 1611 total and 1530 occupied households in the area, this indicates that contacts were made at 77% of the total and 81% of the occupied households in the area. Since area listings suggest that fewer households existed in 1983-4 than in 1980, the percentages are probably even higher. Altogether, 790 completed interviews were recorded. Using the 1980 census estimates, this suggests that interviews were completed in 49% of the total and 52% of the occupied units. The most frequently mentioned problems were juveniles (22.3%), burglary (13.4%), auto theft or damage (11.1%), and personal crime (5.6%). No other problems were mentioned 5 percent of the time.

Neighborhood Police Newsletter. To provide area residents with crime prevention advice, stories of successful efforts to prevent or solve crimes and other local information, the task force decided to publish a monthly newsletter designed for the program area. A sergeant was appointed editor-in-chief; a detective served as assistant editor. They were assisted by an editorial board consisting of the Fear Reduction Program Coordinator, and the Assistant Coordinator.

To familiarize themselves with the nature of their tasks, this group collected several examples of neighborhood newsletters from around the nation, including police-generated ones. The one that ultimately served as the principal model was ALERT, a publication of the Evanston (IL) Police Department and its Residential Crime Prevention Committee. The editor of that newsletter provided consultation to the Newark editorial board about design, content and production.

The newsletter was entitled, "ACT 1," based on the acronym for "Attack Crime Together," the name given to the Department's overall fear reduction program. A sub-heading read, "Published by the Newark Police Department and Neighborhood Residents." The editor was responsible for locating general items of interest, sometimes finding them in newsletters from other cities, and writing others from local source materials. In addition, information was provided by other members of the Department.
As planned, the newsletter contained a mix of general and specific local items. The general items included crime prevention and other safety advice meant to provide the reader with a sense that there were precautionary measures which could be employed to increase personal, household, and neighborhood security. In addition, there were two regular columns, "From the Desk of the Police Director," written by Director Hubert Williams, and "Captain's Corner," written by the commander of the West District. Finally, the newsletter included, among the neighborhood items, information about neighborhood activities, area officers, and "good news" stories about crime that had been prevented or solved, or other situations that had been resolved because of efforts of the police and citizens in the area.

The first newsletter was distributed in mid-October, 1983. Thereafter, newsletters were distributed mid-month in November, December (of 1983), January, February, and March of 1984. From 1,000 to 1,500 copies were given each month to block and tenant associations, retail stores, apartment buildings, banks, grocery stores and other locations. Distribution was carried out by members of the community service center staff, officers conducting directed police-citizen contacts, auxiliary police and neighborhood volunteers. Copies were also available at the center itself.

Directed Patrol Task Force. A group of 24 patrol officers was selected by the precinct commanders as those best qualified to conduct the enforcement and order maintenance operations. The group received three days of training on the legal, tactical and community relations aspects of such operations.

From April through August 1983, several demonstration operations were carried out in areas of the city not involved in the test to refine the techniques required for conducting such activities without disrupting community relations.

In order to provide this group of officers with time away from their regular assignments, a pool of 157 non-patrol officers was established. Each one of these officers was expected to spend one eight-hour tour of duty per month in a patrol car as a replacement for one of the specialized enforcement officers.

This unit engaged exclusively in the following operations:

- foot patrol, to enforce laws and maintain order on sidewalks and street corners,
- radar checks, to enforce speeding laws on the streets,
- bus checks, to enforce ordinances and maintain order aboard public buses,
- enforcement of the state disorderly conduct laws, to reduce the amount of littering and disruptive behavior on corners and sidewalks, and
- road checks, to identify drivers without proper licenses or under the influence of alcohol, to detect stolen automobiles and to apprehend wanted offenders.

These operations were conducted at least three times per week, from Monday through Friday, based on a random assignment schedule to minimize their predictability. Although primary emphasis was given to the program area studied here (and another program area, which also tested this approach in the context of a broader effort), the Directed Patrol Task Force was also assigned periodically to other areas of the city where levels of disorder
required it. However, these operations were not conducted in the comparison area.

Altogether, the members spent slightly over 2,400 officer hours in this program area, during which time they conducted 182 different operations on 73 different days. About 59 percent of these hours were spent on foot patrol, about 16 percent were spent conducting radar checks, 12 percent were spent on bus checks, 11 percent on road checks and two percent on the enforcement of disorderly behavior laws. Brief descriptions of the activities involved in each type of operation are presented below.

- Foot Patrol: On a typical evening, eight pairs of two officers each would walk throughout the program area for one to four hours. During that time, the officers would engage in a wide variety of activities, ranging from casual conversation with area residents and merchants todispersing unruly crowds to ticketing illegally parked cars to responding to calls for assistance. The sergeant in charge continuously drove through the area, observing the officers on foot, stopping to discuss developments with them and providing instructions.

- Radar Checks: These operations were conducted by two officers, sitting in a marked police vehicle equipped with a radar device, alongside a major thoroughfare. When a vehicle was found to be exceeding the legal speed limit, the police vehicle, with lights flashing, would quickly pursue the violator and requit it to pull to the side of the road. The officers would then approach the vehicle, request the driver's license and vehicle registration, and, if no acceptable excuse for the excessive speed was provided, issue a ticket to the violator. In addition to issuing summonses to violators of speed laws, the officers checked the credentials of the drivers and determined if the driver had been driving while under the influence of alcohol, or whether the car has been reported stolen.

- Bus Checks: As a result of repeated complaints from citizens, the Directed Patrol Task Force began a program designed to reduce disorderly behavior on public buses. On a typical operation, two officers would signal a bus driver to pull to the side of the road. One officer would enter the bus by the rear exit, the other through the front door. The officer at the front would deliver this message:

  Excuse me ladies and gentlemen, this is a Newark Police Department bus inspection. We are here to remind you that there are certain city ordinances which apply when you ride public transportation in our city. There is no smoking, drinking, no gambling and no loud music allowed. Anyone doing any of these things should cease immediately. Otherwise, we will ask you to get off the bus.

  [After dealing with any problem cases.] These bus inspections are being conducted by the Newark Police Department for your safety and comfort. Thank you for your cooperation.

  After the message was delivered and offenders evicted, the officers answered questions from the passengers and requested the bus driver to sign a form indicating the time and place the inspection occurred. These forms were submitted to the supervisor of the Directed Patrol Task Force to document the unit's activities.

- Disorderly Conduct Enforcement: The disorderly conduct enforcement component was designed to reduce street disorder by the rigorous
enforcement of the state disorderly conduct laws. Operations of this component were carried out in three stages. First, any group of four or more persons which "congregated to create a public hazard" (in the words of the State statute) were notified by officers in a marked police car that they were in violation of the law and required to disperse. Second, a few minutes after this notice was given, officers in a police van appeared and, assisted by as many other officers as necessary, took to the local precinct station all persons who failed to heed the request to disperse. Finally, those persons detained were processed, screened for existing warrants and charged. It was expected that continual enforcement of this law would eventually lead to a reduction in the number of disorderly groups lingering in public places.

Road Checks. Road checks were established to identify drivers without licenses or under the influence of alcohol, to determine if any of the automobiles stopped had been stolen and to ascertain if there were any with outstanding warrants for any of the persons stopped. In accordance with legal precedents, it was decided that, as a general rule, every fifth vehicle would be stopped. If traffic was sparse, the sampling interval was reduced; if the flow was heavy, the interval was increased.

The motorist would first become aware of such an operation by the presence of a sign indicating "Newark Police Road Check in Effect" and a police vehicle with flashing lights on its roof. Reflective cones would designate the paths through which the traffic was to flow. At night, flares would also be used to illuminate the traffic lanes. To insure compliance to the selection procedure, an officer recorded the license number of every vehicle passing through the checkpoint, designating which ones were to be stopped and, in certain instances, notified the inspecting officers of suspicious behavior by the occupants of particular cars. At this point, selected drivers were requested to pull off the road; all others were allowed to proceed.

The selected motorist would then encounter another sign saying, "Have driver's license, registration and insurance card read." Two officers would approach each selected car and request the required identification papers. If all was in order, the driver was allowed to drive on. In most instances, the delay required three to five minutes. In cases in which licenses had expired, registration or insurance certificates appeared not to be in order, or drivers acted suspiciously or appeared to be under the influence of alcohol, further inquiries were made. If record checks and further discussions with the driver could resolve all questions, the vehicle was allowed to pass through the checkpoint, requiring a total delay of perhaps ten minutes. In those cases where violations were found, summonses were issued or arrests were made.

Clean-Up. The effort to reduce physical disorder and deterioration had two components: an intensification of city services and a revision of the juvenile judicial sentencing process to allow for youths to perform
community service work by cleaning up the program area. The operations of each of these components are summarized below.

- **Intensification of City Services.** The city government committed itself to intensifying its demolition of previously abandoned and condemned buildings; cleaning up lots designated to have high priority by the police department; and intensifying efforts to repair streets, improve lighting and maintain garbage collection in the area. The personnel necessary for this effort were to be from either existing city agencies or private contractors hired by the city to accomplish the requisite tasks.

- **Juvenile Judicial Sentencing.** The second component of the clean-up program was the creation of a legal mechanism to assign juveniles arrested for minor acts of delinquency or other minor offenses to appear before a Juvenile Conference Committee (JCC), where they were given the option of performing community service activities or appearing before a juvenile court judge for case adjudication. The committee was comprised of 15 representatives of the business community, the clergy, educational institutions and area residents. Members were selected by the police and probation departments and approved by the presiding judge of the Domestic Relations Court.

At a typical meeting of the Juvenile Conference Committee, the accused youths, aged 13 to 18, were given an opportunity to respond to the charges against them—ranging from possession of marijuana to receiving property to simple assault to shoplifting to burglary. In the company of at least one of their parents, each youth was given a chance to explain the circumstances of his/her arrest. If the youth accepted culpability and was willing, he/she was considered for inclusion in the community work service program. Depending on the seriousness of the offense, the JCC would assign the youth to serve a designated number of hours in such service.

On the first day of such service, the youths were given a physical examination by the police department surgeon to insure that each was able to participate in program activities without serious risk. All those who passed this exam were then given instructions by the program supervisor concerning the rules of their participation, physical fitness training and the necessity to work as a disciplined team. After this instruction, the youths were transported to the work site, where they were trained in the use of the necessary equipment, organized into work teams and supervised closely during the remainder of the eight-hour work day. During the half-hour lunch period, the youths were driven to a local fast food franchise where they were provided with a meal paid for by the local franchise.

The supervisor of these work teams evaluated the attitudes and performance of each youth and supplied these evaluations to the JCC for their review. Each youth was expected to appear for work on as many days as were required to complete the work sentence supplied to him/her. If a youth did not successfully complete that sentence, he/she would be referred again to the JCC, which would either administer an alternative sentence or refer the youth back to the court for trial.
Through the efforts of both components of the clean-up program, a total of 3 of the 6 locations designated as requiring attention actually received it.

**Evaluation Design and Methodology**

The fundamental evaluation design was based upon the comparison of attitudinal measures collected before and ten months after the introduction of the program. These measures were obtained by conducting interviews with random samples of residents and representatives of non-residential establishments in both a program area and in a comparison area in which no new fear reduction activities were undertaken. In addition, monthly recorded crime data were collected for both areas 44 months prior to, and 13 months during, the implementation of the program.

Five areas, closely matched in terms of their size, demographic characteristics, land use, level of disorder and other characteristics, were selected to be included in the overall Newark Fear Reduction Program. One of those areas was selected, by a random procedure, to be the program area exposed to the coordinated community policing effort. The same selection procedure assigned another neighborhood to be a comparison area, in which no new police programs would be introduced.

Demographic data from the 1980 Census concerning these two areas are presented below.

**Table 1**

<table>
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<th>Area</th>
<th>Hispanic Population</th>
<th>Age 65 and Above</th>
<th>Single Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>% Hispanic</th>
<th>% Black</th>
<th>% Single Black</th>
<th>% White</th>
<th>% Over 65</th>
<th>% Under 45</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
<th>% Non-Hispanic</th>
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<tr>
<td>Program Area M-1</td>
<td>5129</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1511</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Comparison Area S-4</td>
<td>4310</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1433</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Source: 1980 Census

The resident surveys produced area response rates ranging from 77 to 82 percent. Attempts to conduct interviews with a set of respondents both before and after the program began (a "panel") produced response rates of approximately 61 and 64 percent in the program and comparison areas respectively. Interviews were also conducted with owners and managers of non-residential establishments. The response rates for these interviews were consistently higher than 82 percent.

Survey questionnaires were designed to measure each of the following:

- Recalled Program Exposure
- Perceived Area Social and Physical Disorder Problems
- Fear of Personal Victimization in Area
- Worry About Property Crime Victimization in Area
- Perceived Area Crime Problems
- Victimization
- Evaluation of Police Services and Aggressiveness
- Defensive Behaviors to Avoid Personal Crime
- Household Crime Prevention Efforts
- Satisfaction with Area
Analysis and Results

This evaluation examined the effects of the Newark Coordinated Community Policing program in several ways:

1. Recalled program awareness and contact in both the program and comparison areas were examined to determine the extent to which respondents recalled different program components. In addition, differences in awareness across population subgroups were investigated.

2. To provide indicators of the possible program impact on residential respondents, two different types of analysis were conducted:
   a. An analysis of pooled cross-sectional data, to supply evidence of program impact at the broad area level, and
   b. An analysis of panel data, collected from the subset of the same persons interviewed both before and 10 months after the program was implemented, to provide an indication of the program's impact on particular individuals.

3. Among members of the panel sample in the program area, comparisons by outcome measures were made between those persons who recalled being exposed to the program and those who did not.

4. Tests were made for possible differential effects on particular subgroups among members of the panel sample.

5. Recorded crime data were subjected to interrupted time series analysis to determine if trends or levels were affected by program implementation.

The results of each of these analyses are presented below.

Recalled Program Awareness and Contact

Among program area residents, the component with the highest level of awareness was the storefront office, which 90 percent of those interviewed recalled. Sixty-three percent said they were aware of foot patrol; 54 percent recalled bus checks; 49 percent knew about road checks; 41 percent said they knew about the disorderly conduct enforcement operations; 41 percent had heard of the newsletter; 40 percent said that police officers had come to their door to inquire about local problems. Awareness of these components among representatives of non-residential establishments was consistently higher than among residents, probably due to the fact that much of the program activity was situated in active commercial areas. Very few persons said that they themselves had been stopped by the police in the area, either while walking or driving. Only about 12 percent of residents (26 percent of non-residential respondents) said they were aware of any local clean-up efforts.

Survey Indicators of Program Impact

Two different types of analysis were conducted to measure possible program impact on residents:

- Data from the area-wide samples for both areas, for both waves of the survey, were merged and subjected to a pooled cross-sectional regression analysis in which statistical controls for survey wave, area of residence, the interaction between survey wave and area of residence, and 18 respondent characteristics were applied.

- A similar analysis was conducted on the data obtained from the subset of persons who were interviewed both before and ten months after the program started (the panel). In this analysis, in addition to using those variables included in the pooled analysis, the Wave 1 score for each individual was used as an additional control of unmeasured differences among respondents.

The results are summarized in Table 2. The first and third columns report the sign and size of the regression coefficients associated with living in the program area after the other variables in the model have been taken into account in the pooled and panel analyses respectively. The data
Table 2: Program Effects for Cross-Sectional and Panel Analyses of Resident Surveys: Regression Coefficients and Levels of Significance

<table>
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<th>Outcome Measures</th>
<th>Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis</th>
<th>Panel Analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relative Effect</td>
<td>Level of Significance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perceived Area Social Disorder Problems</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>(.02)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Area Physical Deterioration Problems</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>(.49)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fear of Personal Victimization in Area</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>(.85)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worry About Property Crime Victimization in Area</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>(.01)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Area Personal Crime Problems</td>
<td>+.08</td>
<td>(.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Area Property Crime Problems</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>(.05)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization by Any Crime</td>
<td>+.08</td>
<td>(.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization by Personal Crime</td>
<td>+.08</td>
<td>(.04)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization by Property Crime</td>
<td>+.01</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluations of Police Service</td>
<td>+.41</td>
<td>(.01)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Police Aggressiveness</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>(.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defensive Behaviors to Avoid Personal Crime</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>(.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Crime Prevention Efforts</td>
<td>+.19</td>
<td>(.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with Area</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>(.97)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significance level less than or equal to .05.

The results indicate that the program had consistently significant results in both types of analysis on four different outcome measures:

- In both analyses, the program was associated with significant reductions in perceived social disorder problems; that effect was somewhat stronger in the panel analysis.
- Both analyses indicated that the program was related to significant reductions in worry about property crime; the measures of effect were virtually the same in both cases.
- The program was shown to be associated with significant reductions in the level of perceived area property crime problems, although the size of the effect was much greater in the panel analysis.
- Both types of analysis showed the program to have been associated with significant improvements in evaluations of police service, with both measures of effect of comparable size.

One other effect was significant only among the pooled cross-sectional analyses. Specifically, residents of the program area indicated they had experienced more incidents of personal crime than did those in the comparison area.

The analyses of the panel data revealed four significant effects other than those revealed by both types of analysis:

- Fear of personal victimization declined significantly.
- Satisfaction with the area increased significantly.
- Total victimization increased significantly; and
- Property victimization increased significantly.

Two significant changes—an improvement in evaluations of police service and an increase in satisfaction with the area—were found among representatives of non-residential establishments in the program area but not in the comparison area.
Recalled Program Exposure Effects

Within the program area panel sample, a correlational analysis of the effect of recalled exposure to various program components produced these statistically significant results:

- Respondents who recall police officers coming to their door were more likely to have reduced levels of perceived area social disorder problems, reduced levels of perceived area property crime problems, and increased levels of perceived police aggressiveness.
- Respondents who recall the neighborhood newsletter were more likely to have improved evaluations of police service.
- Respondents who recall foot patrol in the area were more likely to have improved evaluations of police service.
- Respondents who recall the community service center were more likely to have improved their evaluation of the police service in their neighborhood.
- Respondents who recall bus checks were more likely to have increased levels of perceived personal crime problems and increased levels of satisfaction with the area.
- Respondents who recall the enforcement of disorderly conduct laws were more likely to have improved evaluations of police service and increased levels of satisfaction with the area.

Analysis of Possible Differential Impacts on Subgroups

On seven different measures, the program's positive program effects were stronger among females than among males. In addition, those respondents who had lived in the program area the longest showed the smallest relative increase in satisfaction with the area, the least improvement in evaluations of police service and the greatest reduction in household crime prevention efforts.

Recorded Crime Analysis

Results from interrupted time series analyses of recorded crime data from the program area indicate significant reductions occurred in the level of (1) total Part I crimes, (2) personal crimes (3) auto theft and (4) crimes which occurred outside. No significant effects were found in the comparison area with respect to any crime type.

Discussion

The Newark Coordinated Community Policing program was successfully implemented as planned for ten months. The evaluation of that program reveals that residents and persons working in the program area became aware of many of the components of the program. Examined separately, exposure to the individual program components produced few statistically significant positive effects. Taken as a whole, however, the program was successful, in both types of analysis used in this evaluation, in improving evaluations of police service and in reducing the levels of residents' perceptions of social disorder and personal crime problems and their worry about property crime. In addition, the program was associated with a significant reduction in Part I recorded crimes, particularly personal crimes and those which occurred outside.

The coordination of the various program elements, therefore, appeared to produce a positive synergistic effect. By increasing the quantity and quality of contacts between police and citizens, the program was able to make the police more accessible to the community, providing reassurance to the residents and opening up a valuable channel of information for the
police. Furthermore, the program gave the police the means to utilize that information to address the concerns expressed by those who live and work in the neighborhood. By creating this mutually beneficial partnership, the Newark program demonstrated that, especially in this time of austerity for many municipal governments, the best principle may be the oldest one: the most effective policing is that which derives from the support of, and works most closely with, the citizens it serves.

NOTE: Complete details of the program and its evaluation are available in Pate and Skogan, 1985.
WEST DISTRICT FEAR REDUCTION STAFF

George Dickschied, Captain

Police Community Service Center Staff

Sergeant Kenneth Williams
Police Officer Herbert Childs
Police Officer George Manzella

Directed Police-Citizen Contact Staff

Sergeant Kenneth Williams, Coordinator

Police Officers:
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Noreen Britte-Headen Patrick Handrahan
Herbert Childs Charles Kaiser
John Coppola George Manzella
Daniel Daly Jose Nunez
Joseph D’Angelo Anthony Petrillo
Kevin George Robert Schwartz
Joseph Gillette George Skrobick
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Ernest Newby

Police Officers:
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Barry Sierra
Charles Upshaw
Leonard Cunningham
Martin Goldman
Thomas Hill
Joseph Mauriello
Herman McDonald
Domingo Rivera
Evelyn Catalano
Bonita Johnson
Marsha Jones

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Wayne Dooley
Rocco Malanga
Michael Petrillo
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John Cantelupo
Willie Floyd
Brian Gavin
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Michael Krayanski
Joseph Marzano

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